

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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DODE-00 PA-04 USIA-15 PRS-01 SCEM-02 SCI-06 NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7010

INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 4239

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT RO

SUBJ: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BLAMED ON LOCAL PARTY ORGANS

REFS: (A) BUCHAREST 3982; (B) BUCHAREST 4173

1. SUMMARY: CEAUSESCU USED SPECIAL MEETING OF COS TY

PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES NOVEMBER 15 AGAIN TO VENT DISCONTENT WITH ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND (AS IN LATE OCTOBER SPEECHES) TO BUCK BLAME PRIMARILY TO PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANS FOR LONG CATALOG OF "SHORTCOMINGS AND MISTAKES" UNPRECEDENTED IN RECENT YEARS. HUNEDOARA, BRASOV AND PLOESTI PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WERE NAMED SPECIFICALLY AND FIRST TWO EXTENSIVELY. CEAUSESCU'S MAJOR DOMESTIC SPEECH (PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 17) SOUNDED MORE SOBER THAN BEFORE ABOUT FIVE-YEAR PLAN FULFILLMENT "AHEAD OF TIME" (LET ALONE IN 4 1/2 YEARS AS HE HAD IMPORTUNED PARTY IN 1972). REVEALING THAT EXPORT PLAN HAS NOT BEEN "ENTIRELY" MET, HE SIGNED MODEST 1974 ECONOMIC POLICY TURN (TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER TOGETHER WITH CURRENT PLAN RESULTS AT NOVEMBER 28 PARTY CC PLENUM)

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FEATURING PRODUCTION QUALITY; REDIRECTION OF PLANT AND FARM INVESTMENT INTO NEW EQUIPMENT (NOTABLY IMPORTS) AT EXPENSE OF NEW PLANT SPACE WHERE CEAUSESCU CLAIMED ECONOMIES COULD BE MADE THROUGH BETTER

UTILIZATION; AND NEED TO SHARPEN ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY, INCLUDING GOR ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES (REF B) WHICH CEAUSESCU DENIED HAD "DIRECT CONNECTION" WITH MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. END SUMMARY.

2. CEAUSESCU ATTRIBUTED "SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS" AT "SERIES OF LARGE ENTERPRISES", IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND IN LIVING STANDARDS TO LACK OF LOCAL PARTY AGGRESSIVENESS IN ROOTING OUT PROBLEMS. EVIDENTLY FACING DISSENT ON THIS AMONG FIRST SECRETARIES PRESENT AT SESSION, HE COMPLAINED THAT "SOME COMRADES" TRIED TO "SHOW THAT THEY HAD DONE EVERYTHING AND CAUSES OF SHORTCOMINGS OUGHT TO BE SOUGHT ELSEWHERE, THAT THEY WERE NOT GUILTY," AND WERE "TIMID" ABOUT CRITICISM AND ESPECIALLY "SELF-CRITICISM." (TEN FIRST SECRETARIES SPOKE, BUT THEIR SPEECHES WERE NOT PUBLISHED; REGIME ELDER BODNARAS AND MAURER WERE ONLY PARTY PERMANENT PRESIDUM MEMBERS NOT PRESENT). HOWEVER, CEAUSESCU SAID 15 (OF 40) COUNTIES (INCLUDING BUCHAREST MUNICIPALITY) HAD ALREADY COMPLETED PLAN'S 3-YEAR GOALS.

3. HE ALSO HIT AT INEFFICIENT USE OF EXISTING INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION SPACE IN MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT THAT 1974 PLAN WOULD CONTAIN IMPORTANT MODIFICATIONS IN ORIENTATION OF INVESTMENT INVOLVING REDUCTION OF PLANNED LEVEL OF INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL CONSTRUCTION AND REALLOCATION OF THESE FUNDS TO NEW EQUIPMENT AND MACHINERY, ESPECIALLY IMPORTS, TO INCREASE EFFICIENCY OF "NON-UTILIZED SPACE ALREADY CONTRUCTED."

4. CEAUSESCU'S HIGHLY UNUSUAL AND FRANK CRITIQUE OF "METHODS AND STYLE OF PARTY WORK" TOUCHED ALLEGED NEED FOR BETTER LOCAL PARTY SELECTION, TRAINING, VERIFICATION, PROMOTION AND ASSIGNMENT OF "CAPABLE CADRES"; PERSISTENCE OF "BUREAUCRATIC FORMALISM" CONFIDENTIAL

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AND PROBLEM-SOLVING BY "MEETINGS AND STUDIES"; LACK OF PARTY DEBATE OVER PERSONAL "LIFE AND ACTIVITIES" OF MEMBERS; LACK OF "COLLECTIVE WORK" AND "CONSULTATION" WITH PARTY ACTIV TO AVERT PROBLEMS, AND WITH "MASSES."

5. CEAUSESCU ALSO HIT PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE "INSTRUCTORS" (FUNCTIONARIES WHO TRANSMIT AND EXPLAIN PARTY DECISIONS) FOR FAILING TO "INTERVENE IN TIME" IN "CERTAIN PROBLEMS". ALTHOUGH PARTY COMMITTEES HAD BEEN ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITY FOR RANGE OF GENERAL COUNTY PROBLEMS, HE SAID, TASKS AND ATTRIBUTES OF SECRETARIAT SECTIONS (SPECIFICALLY ORGANIZATION, PROPAGANDA, AND CADRES) HAD NOT THEREBY DIMINISHED,

AND CC INTERVENTION IN LOCALITIES SHOULD BE "MORE EXACTING."

6. CEAUSESCU CALLED FOR MORE COUNTY PARTY ATTENTION TO VARIOUS RECENTLY-CREATED ECONOMIC-SOCIAL ORGANS AND TO OTHER MASS ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS FOR "INCREASED ROLE" FOR "GENERAL ASSEMBLIES" WHERE ISSUES COULD BE PUT TO VOTE TO BIND "EVERYBODY". RE: COUNTRY PEOPLES COUNCILS, CEAUSESCU WARNED THAT INCREASED RESPONSIBILITIES AND "LOCAL AUTONOMY" SHOULD NEVER DIMINISH "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM", ESPECIALLY IN FOOD SUPPLY DISTRIBUTION. "SECURITY, POLICE AND JUSTICE ORGANS" REQUIRED "PERMANENT PARTY ATTENTION" BECAUSE OF THEIR "MANY SHORTCOMINGS."

7. PROBLEM OF "RAISING IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL OF COMMUNISTS", CEAUSESCU ADDED, MUST BECOME "MUCH MORE IMPORTANT PREOCCUPATION" THAN BEFORE. AMONG ALLEGED "SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS" IN "POLITICAL AND SOCIAL-EDUCATIVE WORK" WERE THOSE OF PARTY JOURNALS "ERA SOCIALISTA" AND "MUNCA DE PARTID". CEAUSESCU SOLICITED FIRST SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON NOW PARTY STRUCTURE COULD BE UP-DATED TO KEEP PACE WITH SOCIETY'S "ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION". AMALGAMATION OF PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES, HE SUGGESTED, WAS ONE WAY TOWARD GREATER PARTY "COHESIVENESS."

8. COMMENT: FACED WITH ADMITTED ECONOMIC WOES WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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(AFTER LAST YEAR'S LOST HOPES FOR "FOUR-AND-HALF-YEAR" FIVE-YEAR PLAN) MAY IMPERIL ANY GENERAL OVERACHIEVEMENT BY 1975, CEAUSESCU NOW APPEARS TO BE INDULGING IN SCAPEGOATING AGAINST PROVINCIAL PARTY UNDERLINGS (MOST OF WHOM LAST YEAR RESISTED UNREALISTIC GOALS FOR QUANTITATIVE PLAN OVERFULFILLMENT). HUNEDOARA (FIRST SECRETARY I. MOGA) HAS BEEN SPECIAL BUTT OF CRITICISM IN PAST THREE YEARS AND IN 1972 COMMITTED ITSELF ONLY TO FULFILL PLAN "AHEAD OF TIME." INCLUSION OF BRASOV IN CRITICISM IS INTERESTING SINCE BRASOV PARTY BOSS CONSTANTIN DRAGAN IS FULL MEMBER OF PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WHOSE TRANSFER TO PROVINCIAL POST SEVERAL YEARS AGO WAS INCONSISTANT WITH HIS HIGH PARTY RANK. HOWEVER WELL-JUSTIFIED CEAUSESCU'S OPEN LAUNDERING OF PARTY MANAGEMENT WEAKNESSES MAY BE, HIS DECISION TO DEFLECT ECONOMIC DEBATE IN DIRECTION OF PARTY "CENTRALISM" EVINCES HIS OFT MANIFESTED PROCLIVITY FOR PRE-EMPTIVELY KEEPING PARTY GRUMBLERS AND POTENTIAL CRITICS OFF-BALANCE VIA INSTITUTIONALIZED UNCERTAINTY -- THIS TIME IN ADVANCE OF PARTY CC PLENUM NOVEMBER 28 AND SUBSEQUENT 1974 11TH PARTY CONGRESS PREPARATIONS. WHILE HIS SAILS SEEM TRIMMED

FOR MORE REALISTIC ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS, CEAUSESCU'S
GIMMICK OF "USING UNUSED PLANT SPACE" WITH "NEW
MACHINERY" MAY INDICATED HIS GLIMMERING VISION OF
SUBSTANTIAL PLAN FULFILLMENT IN ADVANCE IS NOT YET
STILLED.
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